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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ ANKARA 02197

DEPT PASS TO SENATE MAJORITY LEADER'S OFFICE/C. RICHARD D'AMATO

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: OREP (BYRD, ROBERT), MARR, MASS, TU, GR, CY, US
SUBJECT: CODEL BYRD: MEETING WITH CHIEF OF TURKISH GENERAL STAFF, FEBRUARY 12

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. CODEL BYRD CALLED ON GENERAL TORUMTAY, CHIEF OF THE TURKISH GENERAL STAFF (TGS) AND RECEIVED A TGS BRIEFING FEBRUARY 12. KEY THEMES OF THE MEETING WERE: BILATERAL SECURITY RELATIONS AND SECURITY ASSISTANCE; THE INF TREATY AND CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS MODERNIZATION (ON WHICH TORUMTAY EXPRESSED SOME CLEAR DOUBTS AND PREFERENCES); TURKEY'S STRATEGIC POSITION AND OUT-OF-AREA POTENTIAL WITHIN A NATO CONTEXT (ABOUT WHICH GEN. TORUMTAY'S COMMENTS WERE PARTICULARLY INTERESTING); AND CYPRUS.

3. SEN. BYRD EXPRESSED HIS ADMIRATION FOR THE LEADERSHIP OF TURKEY IN DEVELOPING ITS ECONOMY, MEDIATING IN THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR, AND TAKING THE LEAD IN A RAPPROCHEMENT WITH GREECE. HE ALSO STRESSED THAT THE U.S. RECOGNIZED TURKEY'S STEADFAST SUPPORT OF THE ALLIANCE AND PROMISED TO CONTINUE MAKING THE CONGRESS AWARE OF WHAT TURKEY CONTRIBUTED IN ALL FIELDS. SAYING THAT THE INF TREATY WILL BE RATIFIED, SEN. BYRD ASSURED TORUMTAY THAT U.S. SUPPORT FOR NATO AND TURKEY WOULD BE

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UNDIMINISHED.

4. SEN. PELL RAISED THE ISSUE OF POSSIBLE TURKISH TROOP AND TANK REDUCTIONS ON CYPRUS. STRONGLY SUPPORTING THE SENTIMENTS OF SEN. BYRD, SEN. BOREN EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE EXCELLENT COOPERATION THE U.S. ENJOYS WITH TURKEY IN THE INTELLIGENCE FIELD. SEN. BOREN POINTED OUT THE GREAT EFFORTS SEN. BYRD HAD EXERTED ON BEHALF OF TURKEY IN THE SECURITY ASSISTANCE FIELD, WHICH HAD ENABLED TURKEY TO JOIN THE SELECT FEW COUNTRIES THAT HAD NOT EXPERIENCED CUTS IN MILITARY ASSISTANCE. IN VIEW OF TIME CONSTRAINTS FACING THE CODEL, SEN. WARNER SAID HE WOULD HOLD HIS QUESTIONS AND COMMENTS FOR THE TGS BRIEFING THAT FOLLOWED THE MEETING WITH TORUMTAY. END SUMMARY.

5. CODEL BYRD'S VISIT TO THE TURKISH GENERAL STAFF (TGS) FEBRUARY 12 CONSISTED OF A 40-MINUTE CALL ON THE CHIEF OF THE TGS, GENERAL NECIP TORUMTAY, ATTENDED BY SENATORS BYRD, PELL, BOREN AND WARNER, FOLLOWED BY A 30-MINUTE BRIEFING AND DISCUSSION FOR CODEL AND SELECTED STAFF MEMBERS (REPORTED SEPTEL). ACCOMPANYING IN THE OFFICE CALL WERE AMBASSADOR STRAUSZ-HUPE, DCM ROPE (NOTETAKER), AND ACTING CHIEF JUSMMAT, CAPT. YORK. THE MAJOR POINTS OF DISCUSSION ARE PRESENTED, ROUGHLY IN THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY AROSE, IN PARAS 6-16 BELOW.

TURKEY'S STRATEGIC POSITION IN NATO CONTEXT BUT WITH OUT-OF-AREA POTENTIAL

6. THE MEETING OPENED INFORMALLY, WITH THE VARIOUS PARTICIPANTS LOOKING AT WALL MAPS AND DISCUSSING TURKEY'S GEOSTRATEGIC POSITION. TORUMTAY THEN TOOK THE LEAD WITH A SHORT DISCOURSE THAT, WHILE STRESSING THE TRADITIONAL FACTOR OF THE SOVIET THREAT, WAS MOST NOTABLE FOR ITS UNUSUALLY OPEN EXPOSITION ON TURKEY'S ROLE IN CONTRIBUTING TO THE SECURITY OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTHWEST ASIA REGION VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIET UNION. HE NOTED FIRST THAT TURKEY'S POSITION AS A LAND BRIDGE BETWEEN TWO CONTINENTS AND AS THE LINK BETWEEN THE BLACK SEA AND MEDITERRANEAN HAS MADE IT TRADITIONALLY A PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE OF RUSSIAN EXPANSIONISM. "SO," HE SAID, "WE KNOW THE RUSSIANS WELL." HE ADDED THAT IF TURKEY HAS ADEQUATE AIR DEFENSE IT CAN PROTECT THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND THE SIXTH FLEET. THE LATTER,

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HE SAID, LIKES TO EXERCISE WITH TURKEY; FOR EXAMPLE, AN EXERCISE INVOLVING TURKISH ARMED FORCES AND THE USS CORAL SEA WOULD BEGIN SHORTLY AND THE SCENARIO WOULD ASSUME A SOVIET AIR THRUST INTO THE MEDITERRANEAN.

7. CONTINUING, TORUMTAY POINTED OUT THAT EASTERN TURKEY IS A SHIELD PROTECTING ARAB COUNTRIES FROM THE SOVIETS TO THE NORTH; AND IN THE PAST 10-20 YEARS THIS HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY RECOGNIZED BY THE SAUDIS AND OTHERS IN THE GULF REGION. IN ADDITION, AS A MOSLEM COUNTRY, TURKEY'S TIES WITH THE GULF REGION ARE GROWING IN THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL FIELDS AND -- INCREASINGLY -- IN THE MILITARY FIELD. TICKING OFF U.S.-USED BASES AND

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FACILITIES ON TURKISH SOIL (INCIRLIK, PIRINCLIK, SINOP, BELBASI, ETC.), TORUMTAY SAID THESE WERE ALL FACTORS DETERRING WAR WITH THE WARSAW PACT.

8. TORUMTAY THEN ADDED AN INTERESTING FORMULATION RARELY HEARD FROM TURKISH OFFICIALS, WHO ARE GENERALLY SHY ABOUT SUGGESTING THAT TURKEY HAS A POTENTIAL ROLE TO PLAY IN THE SECURITY OF SOUTHWEST ASIA AND THE GULF REGION. TORUMTAY SAID THAT NEW AIR BASES BEING BUILT IN EASTERN TURKEY, NEAR LAKE VAN (I.E., BATMAN AND MUS), COULD BE USED TO "PROTECT" IRAN, IN ADDITION TO DETERRING OTHER ATTACKS IN THE AREA "WITHIN THE NATO FRAMEWORK." IN THE SAME VEIN, TORUMTAY NOTED THAT THIS DETERRENT ROLE OF TURKEY HAD GROWN IN RECENT YEARS IN VIEW OF THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR AND ESPECIALLY SINCE THE SITUATION IN THE GULF HAD HEATED UP.

INF AND NEED FOR CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS MODERNIZATION

9. SEN. BYRD INTRODUCED THE SUBJECT OF THE INF TREATY, SAYING THAT IT WILL BE RATIFIED AND ADDED THAT U.S. SUPPORT FOR NATO AND TURKEY WILL CONTINUE UNDIMINISHED AND CONSISTENT. WE WANT TO CONTINUE TO BE ON GUARD, HE SAID, REGARDLESS OF WHAT TYPE OF LEADERSHIP, I.E., THE DYNAMIC PUBLIC RELATIONS ORIENTED LEADERSHIP OF GORBACHEV, MAY COME ON THE WORLD STAGE. WE HOPE THAT GORBACHEV SUCCEEDS IN IMPROVING THE LOT OF THE SOVIET UNION, HE CONTINUED, BUT WE MUST REMAIN AWARE THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE ALWAYS TRIED TO DIVIDE THE WEST AND WE THUS HAVE TO REMAIN ON OUR GUARD. KNOWING THAT TURKS HAVE FOUGHT RUSSIANS FOR CENTURIES, THE SENATOR ADDED, WE IN THE U.S. KNOW THAT TURKEY WILL ALWAYS BE ON ITS GUARD. SEN. BYRD CONCLUDED THAT TURKEY AND THE U.S. MUST WORK TOGETHER TO STRENGTHEN THE ALLIANCE.

10. TORUMTAY RESPONDED WITH A NUMBER OF INTERESTING COMMENTS CONCERNING THE INF TREATY AND CONVENTIONAL VERSUS NUCLEAR WEAPONS. FIRST, HE NOTED THAT THE GOT HAD EXPRESSED ITS CONFIDENCE IN, AND SUPPORT FOR, THE TREATY TO PRESIDENT REAGAN AND U.S. LEADERS. CONCLUSION OF THE TREATY IS, HE SAID, "A BIG EVENT." HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT IT HAD CREATED SOME UNCERTAINTIES ABOUT THE ALLIANCE'S DETERRENT CAPABILITIES AND ABOUT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DOCTRINE OF FLEXIBLE RESPONSE. WITH THE TREATY, HE SAID, ONE LINK IN THE NUCLEAR CHAIN WOULD BE REMOVED. THUS, IF IT FIRST BECAME NECESSARY TO EMPLOY BATTLEFIELD NUCLEAR WEAPONS, IT WOULD NOT BE AS EASY TO MOVE UP THE CHAIN TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS OF GREATER RANGE.

11. TORUMTAY CONTINUED THAT THIS SITUATION MADE TURKEY FEEL THE NEED FOR MORE NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS. (NOTE: FROM LATER COMMENTS, IT BECAME EVIDENT THAT TORUMTAY'S REFERENCE AT THIS POINT WAS TO THE NEED FOR MORE MODERNIZED NUCLEAR WEAPONS, RATHER THAN A GREATER QUANTITY OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.) INCREASING THESE CAPABILITIES WOULD ENABLE THE ALLIANCE TO DETER WAR AT A

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LOWER LEVEL OF ARMAMENTS. TORUMTAY SPOKE OF HIS

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PERSONAL PREFERENCE FOR CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS OVER TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS "BECAUSE THE TRIGGER IS IN MY HAND AND CAN BE USED WHENEVER IT IS NEEDED," WHILE THE TRIGGER FOR EVEN THE SMALLEST TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPON IS IN WASHINGTON. MOREOVER, SNF EXPLODE ON ONE'S OWN TERRITORY, AND TORUMTAY SAID HE PREFERRED WEAPONS THAT EXPLODE ON THE ENEMY'S TERRITORY. HE CONCLUDED THAT TURKEY WOULD LIKE MORE, AND MORE MODERN, CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS THAN IT CURRENTLY HAS.

12. AMBASSADOR STRAUSZ-HUPE NOTED THAT THE ADVENT OF SOVIET SS-20 MISSILES WAS A RELATIVELY NEW PHENOMENON AND THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF P-II AND CRUISE MISSILES HAD BEEN THE RESPONSE. SUCH WEAPONS ON BOTH SIDES HAD APPEARED LONG AFTER THE FLEXIBLE RESPONSE DOCTRINE. THE RESULT, POST-INF, WAS THAT WE WERE BACK TO WHERE WE HAD BEEN IN 1979. WHAT HAD REALLY CHANGED, ASKED THE AMBASSADOR. TORUMTAY TOOK THE POINT BUT NONETHELESS REITERATED THAT THE TREATY WOULD REMOVE A LOT OF ALLIED INF WEAPONS AND THUS TAKE A LINK OUT OF THE NUCLEAR CHAIN. THE EXCHANGE ENDED WITH THE AMBASSADOR STRESSING THAT THE OTHER SIDE ALSO WOULD REMOVE A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF INF WEAPONS, MUCH MORE IN FACT THAN THE ALLIES.

GREECE AND TURKEY; CYPRUS

13. CONCERNING TURKISH-GREEK DIFFERENCES, SEN. BYRD SAID THE CODEL HAD BEEN VERY PLEASED BY THE OUTCOME AT DAVOS AND BY THE ACCOMPANYING DECISIONS TO ESTABLISH DIALOGUE ON ECONOMIC MATTERS, HOLD ANNUAL MEETINGS, ETC. THE GOT APPROACH TO THIS, HE SAID, WAS VERY STATESMANLIKE. LIKEWISE, SEN. BYRD SAID, HE WAS PLEASED THAT PAPANDREOU HAD BEEN WILLING TO MEET AND TALK WITH THE TURKISH SIDE. HE CONCLUDED BY EXPRESSING HIS PLEASURE THAT TURKEY WAS REMOVING TANKS FROM CYPRUS AS THIS WAS A MATTER OF CONCERN TO MANY IN THE CONGRESS. THOSE WHO WANT TO SUPPORT TURKEY IN ITS IMPORTANT ROLE ARE PLEASED WHEN THEY SEE MOVEMENT IN SUCH AREAS.

14. SENATOR PELL PURSUED THE ISSUE OF TURKISH FORCES ON CYPRUS BY POINTING OUT THAT TURKEY NOW HAD 25-30,000 SOLDIERS ON THE ISLAND, AND THERE WAS A LOT OF FEELING ABOUT IT IN CONGRESS. HE ASKED TORUMTAY WHAT HIS THOUGHTS WERE ABOUT DRAWING DOWN TURKISH MILITARY STRENGTH ON CYPRUS. TORUMTAY REPLIED THAT "IMMEDIATELY" AFTER AN AGREEMENT IS CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNITIES ON THE ISLAND, TURKEY WOULD WITHDRAW "ALL" OF ITS TROOPS FROM CYPRUS. HE STRESSED THAT, FROM A MILITARY POINT OF VIEW, IT WAS NOT EFFICIENT TO HAVE TWO DIVISIONS TIED DOWN ON CYPRUS, AND HE DID NOT WANT THIS TO CONTINUE ANY LONGER THAN NECESSARY. (COMMENT: THIS IS A MUCH FLATTER FORMULATION OF INTENT TO WITHDRAW ALL TURKISH TROOPS FROM CYPRUS AFTER A SETTLEMENT THAN WE ARE USED TO HEARING FROM THE TURKS. END COMMENT.)

15. TORUMTAY EMPHASIZED THAT TURKISH FORCES WERE IN CYPRUS ONLY IN A PEACEKEEPING ROLE AND SAID THAT "SOME" TANKS WERE BEING ROTATED AND THAT TURKEY HAD REMOVED "SOME COMPANIES" OF TROOPS. RESPONDING THAT TURKEY HAD 200-250 TANKS ON CYPRUS WHILE GREECE HAD ONLY ABOUT 30, SEN. PELL QUESTIONED WHY TURKEY REQUIRED A 7:1 STRENGTH RATIO IN THIS AREA. TORUMTAY SAID THAT UNTIL RECENTLY THE TANKS THAT WERE ON CYPRUS HAD BEEN THERE SINCE 1974. THE GREEK SIDE HAD BEEN ACQUIRING ANTI-TANK GUNS AND OTHER NEW WEAPONS, WHICH HAD FORCED TURKEY TO MODERNIZE ITS ARMORED FORCES. TORUMTAY REITERATED THAT TURKISH FORCES WERE ONLY ON CYPRUS TO PROTECT TURKISH

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INHABITANTS. THERE WERE OVER 180 KILOMETERS OF CEASE-FIRE LINE TO PATROL AND, IN ANY CASE, COMPARISONS
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OF TANK STRENGTH ALONE WERE NOT SUFFICIENT. NUMBERS OF TROOPS, ANTI-TANK WEAPONS AND OTHER FACTORS MUST BE INCLUDED IN ANY JUDGMENT ABOUT RELATIVE STRENGTHS.

.....
BILATERAL SECURITY RELATIONS, SECURITY ASSISTANCE, DECA SIDE LETTER
.....

16. SENATOR BYRD OPENED DISCUSSION OF U.S.-TURKISH SECURITY RELATIONS BY SAYING THAT HE WAS VERY INTERESTED NOT ONLY IN RATIFICATION OF THE MARCH 1987 DECA SIDE LETTER BUT ALSO IN GAINING FAVORABLE GOT ACTION ON OTHER DEFENSE PROJECTS, CITING THE NEED FOR MOVEMENT ON RELOCATION OF THE SEISMIC MONITORING FACILITY AT BELBASI, HOST NATION SUPPORT (I.E., COLLOCATED OPERATING BASE) ARRANGEMENTS AND UPGRADING COMMUNICATIONS AT THE SPACE-TRACK SITE AT PIRINCLIK. TORUMTAY RESPONDED THAT ALL OF THESE THINGS WERE UNDER CONSIDERATION, BUT SIDE LETTER RATIFICATION SPECIFICALLY HAD BEEN HELD UP BECAUSE OF "ALIEN ELEMENTS." HE INCLUDED ON HIS LIST OF SUCH ELEMENTS THE ARMENIAN RESOLUTION, THE INTRODUCTION OF LEGISLATIVE LANGUAGE LINKING U.S. SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO CYPRUS, AND THE FALL IN AMOUNTS OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE, ALL OF WHICH HE SAID HAD BEEN DISAPPOINTING TO THE GOT.
17. SENATOR BYRD REPLIED BY DESCRIBING HOW HE HAD TALKED TO HOUSE SPEAKER WRIGHT ABOUT KEEPING THE ARMENIAN RESOLUTION FROM COMING UP IN THE HOUSE WHILE SEN. BYRD WOULD KEEP IT FROM THE FLOOR OF THE SENATE. IN THE END IT WAS DEFEATED, NOT EVEN COMING UP IN THE SENATE AND -- WITH THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP IN CONGRESS BOTH OPPOSED TO SUCH A RESOLUTION -- SEN. BYRD DID NOT FORESEE IT COMING UP AGAIN.

18. SEN. BYRD POINTED OUT THAT, OVERALL, TURKEY HAD FARED QUITE WELL IN THE SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROCESS, IN SPITE OF AN EXTREME BUDGETARY SITUATION. HE CAUTIONED, HOWEVER, THAT THESE GOOD RESULTS WERE NOT THE END, AS THE SECURITY ASSISTANCE BUDGET BATTLE WOULD HAVE TO BE FOUGHT AGAIN NEXT YEAR AND THE YEAR AFTER THAT. THIS DID NOT MEAN THAT THE U.S. VIEWED TURKISH EFFORTS AND SACRIFICES AS LESS IMPORTANT, BUT A DIFFICULT BUDGETARY SITUATION WAS ALSO FORCING THE U.S. TO CUT SERVICES TO OUR OWN PEOPLE IN AREAS SUCH AS EDUCATION AND HEALTH. THE U.S. , IN SPITE OF THESE PROBLEMS, WAS WORKING HARD TO KEEP DEFENSE FUNDS FROM BEING CUT ANY FURTHER. RETURNING TO THE GENERAL PICTURE, SEN. BYRD SAID THAT TURKISH LEADERSHIP WAS SHOWING IN THE PROGRESS OF ITS ECONOMY, IN ITS EFFORTS TO IMPROVE TURKISH-GREEK RELATIONS AND IN OTHER FOREIGN AFFAIRS AREAS. WE RECOGNIZE AND ARE IMPRESSED BY TURKEY'S ACHIEVEMENTS, SEN. BYRD CONCLUDED, AND AS STEADFAST SUPPORTERS OF THE ALLIANCE WE WILL MAKE CONGRESS AWARE OF WHAT TURKEY CONTRIBUTES.

19. SENATOR BOREN SUPPORTED THE VIEWS OF SEN. BYRD AND ADDED HIS APPRECIATION FOR THE EXCELLENT COOPERATION

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BETWEEN TURKEY AND THE U.S. IN FIELDS OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO HIM, COOPERATION WHICH HE RATED AT THE TOP WORLD WIDE. SEN. BOREN ALSO STRESSED HOW MUCH SEN. BYRD HAD DOME FOR TURKEY IN THE CONGRESS, INCLUDING KEEPING THE 7:10 RATIO OUT OF LEGISLATIVE LANGUAGE AND KEEPING TURKEY IN THE ELITE GROUP OF FOUR OR FIVE NATIONS THAT HAD NOT HAD CUTS IN SECURITY ASSISTANCE. NOW, AFTER DAVOS, THE SITUATION WAS MUCH BETTER THAN LAST YEAR, SEN. BOREN CONTINUED, AND WE WERE ON AN UPWARD TREND, THE MOMENTUM OF WHICH SHOULD BE MAINTAINED. HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT THE U.S. AND TURKEY WOULD KEEP SENDING THE RIGHT KIND OF MESSAGES TO EACH OTHER. SENATOR WARNER, ASKED IF HE HAD ANY COMMENTS, SAID THAT
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IN THE INTERESTS OF TIME HE WOULD HOLD HIS COMMENTS FOR THE TGS BRIEFING SCHEDULED TO FOLLOW. AT THAT POINT THE SMALL MEETING WITH GEN. TORUMTAY BROKE UP AND THE GROUP ADJOURNED TO THE BRIEFING ROOM.

20. THIS MESSAGE WAS PREPARED AFTER CODEL BYRD HAD DEPARTED ANKARA. STRAUSZ-HUPE
END OF MESSAGE CONFIDENTIAL

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